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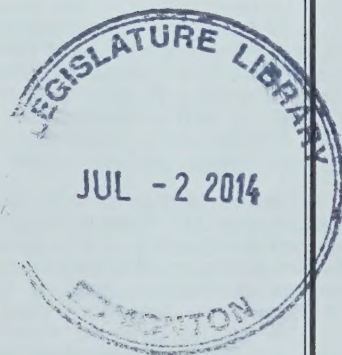
PETER LOUGHEED

M.L.A.

speaking on the

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO THE
SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

1971



Delivered in the Alberta Legislature

Friday, February 12, 1971

Mr. Peter Lougheed, Leader of the Opposition

Mr. Speaker, I would like to start my remarks today by joining with the Mover of the motion, and I think with all Members on both sides of the House, in endorsing and confirming how pleased we are with the confirmation of the position of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor. All of us have had the opportunity individually and in groups to be involved with him, to walk the Miles for Millions with him, and to do many other things, and I think that we are particularly fortunate here in Alberta to have a man that so ably reflects the society of this province and also so ably represents the institution of Monarchy which periodically is threatened, and I think that in this province in particular we are indeed fortunate to have a Representative of Her Majesty in the person and in the presence of the Honourable Grant MacEwan.

Mr. Speaker, I was disappointed a bit in that the Mover and the Seconder did not enlighten the Members of the House with regard to one of the critical statements in the Speech from the Throne, contained on Page 4, to the effect that 'the government will introduce programs to assist the unemployed'. We hope that early in this Debate that there will indeed be specific programs from the government side that will be brought before the House for consideration, and I think that that should be done the sooner the better.

To turn to the Speech from the Throne itself, as I have mentioned — and I think that most Members would concur — it's in essence an agenda from the government side. I think it's important that we see at the earliest possible time the substance of the legislation that's referred to, and of course tied in very critically are the Budget proposals and the Budget programs. I would like to say a brief word about the Budget in the hope that two things will occur this year: first, that the Budget will reflect program budgeting and secondly, that the Budget itself will create a clear distinction between federal funds and provincial funds.

In terms of the Speech from the Throne I think the fair thing to do is to evaluate the Speech at the end of the session in relation to the program of legislation that has been presented. For our part, if there are items of legislation presented that we think are in the public interest they certainly will have our full and complete support. We will no doubt be proposing amendments and we hope that on the other side of the House, they will be considered and viewed with an open mind.

When one looks at the Speech from the Throne there is always an item of concern. I was reviewing the last two Speeches prior to yesterday and I noticed in 1970 at the top of page 4 there was the trumpeting statement, "In keeping with my Government's desire to improve and develop our water re-

sources, and in recognition of the importance of conservation, a revised Water Resources Act will be presented." Of course it wasn't, and I think the fact that that sort of a statement appears makes one by nature and by background somewhat skeptical to run and accept the observations in the document at this stage. I think we should wait for the conclusion of the Session.

Now in this last session of the Sixteenth Alberta Legislature I think it's extremely important as the Leader of the alternative Party in this House, to present to you alternative approaches. When we talk about public policy Mr. Speaker, we talk about generally the two areas of economic concern and of social concern. They are very much inter-related of course. But I think considerable emphasis at this time in the history of Alberta should be placed on our social concerns and on our social needs and our social future. The word "Quality of Life" means a great deal. It isn't just a catch phrase. It's what the people are talking about. And when we see the Budget it would certainly be my intention to deal with matters of economic policy in the Budget debate, but today I would like to deal with programs and policies of the Progressive Conservatives with regard to social action and social issues — policies regarding progressive reform, policies of intervention in trends of the present. I think it's important that political leaders speak out and let people know, Mr. Speaker, where they stand and what they would do. I accept that obligation.

Now in terms of philosophy, I have been asked I think a very reasonable question as to what position a Progressive Conservative government would take in relation to the philosophy contained in the White Paper presented by the Honourable Mr. Manning. As I have stated before, and will state again, the term 'human resources' bothers us, the concept there of perhaps using people. But the philosophy I think is sound. We are concerned with the implementation — and there is considerable question about that. The aims and objectives there certainly are aims and objectives that we can support, and I am prepared to commit ourselves to continuing with those aims and objectives. No doubt we would probably change the name; we would do some essential re-structuring; we would try to assure more progress. But the idea of emphasizing people before things is certainly the sort of policy that we would follow.

An integral part of the White Paper is the Human Resources Research Council, and on page 57 Mr. Manning set forth, "Research relative to human resources development to apply new and advanced methods and techniques initially conceived for industrial application, giving analysis of social problems and the formulation of programs for human resources development". In other words, that the Human Resources Research Council would be a vehicle for analysis of social policies for the future.

And then in the 1968 session — Sessional Paper Number 172 — we had the document tabled. The Honourable Mr. Reiersen stated with regard to the very first meeting of the Human Resources Research Council that it was “an historic occasion; that Alberta was entering into a new field of endeavor by embarking upon a program of human resources research which he liked to think of as ‘research in its application into human affairs be they social or educational’”. And contained further in that ‘historic occasion’ was the statement by the Honourable Mr. Aalborg (on Page 7 of that document) that ‘in agreeing with Mr. Bliss and Dr. Johns Mr. Aalborg said that — and I quote, ‘we must look to the future anticipate its unwanted and undesirable consequences, and do some specific things to forestall some of these undesirable effects’”. This was done. And Mr. Speaker, I would like to give credit to the other side of the House for a most positive contribution to the public affairs of this province. I would like to commend them for it, and I would like therefore to deal with the document, “Social Futures of Alberta 1970 to the year 2005”. It was produced this fall — most Members no doubt have had an opportunity to read it, to consider it, and to review it.

It forecasts the future of this province; it presents challenges with regard to policies and programs, and I intend to use it as the basis of the main thrust of my remarks here today.

I would like to conclude my remarks Mr. Speaker, by dealing with policies of intervention — of reform — of social action that a Progressive Conservative government would take in relation to this document.

Now if I can create the framework for these remarks — I turn Mr. Speaker, your attention to the Foreword of this document where it states this. It says, “Early in 1969 the Human Resources Research Council sponsored a series of studies of the future. Two concerns have provided the impetus for these ventures. First, a desire to inform the planning process in all areas of human resources development, and to assist planners”. and I think these are the key words Mr. Speaker, “in advancing from a reactive to an anticipatory mode of planned development”. The sort of thing that we have been talking about dealing with, not reacting but anticipating. And secondly, “a desire to inform citizens of emerging trends in society and of the options open to them, so that they may be better able to shape their society and to avoid what has been called ‘future shock’.”

Now I am afraid that my reading started with the Playboy article of Mr. Toffler dealing with ‘future shock’, and for certain reasons Mr. Speaker, I don’t want to table that particular document. But I do commend to the Members of the House this book and this concept, which is set forth here in terms of future shock that is referred to in the Foreword of that document. It is a most

enlightening book and certainly one that I have found helpful in my responsibilities, and I commend it to the Members of this House.

Now this study, this ‘Social Futures’ reported in this volume — was sponsored jointly by the Human Resources Research Council and a Commission on Education Planning, and it states this, “it is our hope that the study will assist that Commission and others” — and I suggest that the others are the others here, “and others throughout the province, to catch glimpses of alternate social futures, to perceive their application for social and educational policies”.

Now the purpose of this document Mr. Speaker — on Page 6 there are a number of important points. First of all, the studies reported here were conducted on request from the Alberta Human Resources Research Council and the Commission on Educational Planning. Secondly, that a large number of individuals participated in these studies; that the panels of experts worked diligently and provided thoughtful insights far beyond those reported here; and that all panelists did it Mr. Speaker, without remuneration. But finally, and this is the key in the Preface, on Page 6, ‘At the very least the results reported here are the opinions of responsible, distinguished, insightful and thoughtful individuals. It is hoped that the lists of forecasts presented here will be sufficiently worthwhile to interest policymakers and planners in both the public and the private sectors to assess implications of potential developments for a variety of policies and institutions, and to reinforce the importance of ‘acting now’ on behalf of certain problems and conditions which are probable or foreseeable in the future’. ‘Acting now’ are the operative words.

Now the Introduction goes on, at Page 9, to state that these are studies of the future. “These studies assist us in linking the present with alternative sets of prospects. They foreshadow the future in terms of the present through a critique of the present”. And “if the forecasts are assessed and found to describe undesirable states of affairs in the future” in the view of the people of Alberta and the people here in this Chamber, “there is no necessity that these undesirable conditions should come about. We could choose to intervene in historical processes to prevent them”.

Now Mr. Speaker, as the Leader of the alternative Party in this House I think I am obliged to — and I want to — state unequivocally which of these forecasts I consider are forecasts that are undesirable or desirable — forecasts where changes are required and action should be taken soon. Ways in which a Progressive Conservative government would intervene — what action we would take.

Now I repeat Mr. Speaker, with regard to this document it was commissioned and pre-

sumably paid for by the Social Credit government. It contains the opinions of responsible, distinguished, insightful and thoughtful individuals. The forecasts are for Alberta, except where obviously it is not the case. And they assist in linking the present — today — with the future — in taking the historical processes in this province and looking at them in terms of trends and the future. And they foreshadow the future in terms of the present. The present reflects thirty five — thirty six years of Social Credit management — administration of the policies of this province. The social futures hence are linked with the culmination of these thirty five — thirty six years of policies and attitudes. Now what is this social future contained in this document? Well, in my view Mr. Speaker, — with very few exceptions — they contain very undesirable forecasts of social conditions. They show a real need for change and for overhaul.

Now they make one wonder about 'Treasure Island'. I submit Mr. Speaker, that it is not fair to suggest that this future is a legacy of Social Credit. But I do suggest that any provincial government having the administration of the affairs of this province and the social responsibility of this province certainly has contributed to the trends contained in this document, and the trends that are projected by way of forecasts. Now quite clearly, intervention is essential.

This document may be embarrassing. Maybe there are people that wish it would 'self destruct'. But the document exists no less. The document exists the same way as the public expenditure and revenue study report exists. And the document is going to come forward time and time again — because the document calls for government action and for new policies and for new attitudes and new programs. And it also states unequivocally to an objective reader that action is required if one considers, — and I leave that to the Members of the House — that the forecasts contained herein contain undesirable features in a very significant way.

Now the issue in this winter of 1971 — and in the spring of 1971 — with regard to social issues — with regard to changes and policies of intervention is — can they come from an old government, or will they require a new government? Now that's not up to anybody in this room. It's going to be up to the people to decide — soon.

Let me now deal Mr. Speaker, with these forecasts — with my response and my views and those of my colleagues as to whether they are desirable or undesirable, and the nature of possible intervention — and the assessments of the need to look at this future and call for change.

The first one, Mr. Speaker, is at Page 89 and deals with education. And the statement there on education is this, "Nothing short of a radical approach to overhauling the fundamental structures and processes of the

educational system will be necessary in the years ahead". Why? Obviously not because they're working. Obviously there is plenty of good work being done by highly motivated people. Obviously there are a lot of pluses in the educational system in Alberta. But obviously too, this document points out that time is moving very rapidly, changes are occurring very rapidly, and nothing short of a radical approach to overhauling the fundamental structures and processes of the educational system will be necessary in the years ahead." That's quite a statement. It raises the question of course that the one thing that can't be accepted — is any sense of complacency. It raises the obvious need to make changes, and rapidly. It raises to me this question — can we afford to mark time while the Worth Commission concludes its studies? We have seen the Hall-Dennis Report — which I dealt with at length in this House in 1968 (from Ontario) which showed certain directions. And by implication it contained some of the directions that certain people foresee are required in this province by this document, and in other places.

Now on page 93 they say that in terms of forecasts of emphasis in education, that education for creativity, environmental education, education in inter-personal relationships, education for sound mental health development, and education for participating and social change processes will have their emphasis upgraded.

I'm willing to commit myself and my colleagues to that particular change in direction — and for that particular need.

Now the next matter of course is the issue of whether the Report of the Royal Commission by Dr. Worth on Education Planning will be too late. We were pleased to have had Dr. Worth attend at our Educational Conference in Camrose last October. We appreciated very much his progress report. Some of the observations he made concerned me, but I think that the proper thing to do is not to prejudge it, but merely to hope that there will be implementation in stages.

On Page 91 in this document, they raise a matter of real challenge to the public educators and to the people here. "Teachers, professors and administrative officials in the educational system will, as a result of this trend, experience considerable difficulties in readjusting administrative structures and roles appropriate to the democratized educational system". Now can such an overhaul — can these changes — be made by an old government, particularly if they are not prepared to admit that they are needed? It will be interesting to see the response to that, Mr. Speaker.

And then in the field of education too, on page 97, with regard to disaffection with higher learning, there is the forecast that it is likely there will be continued and appreciable increases in the degree of disaffection among youth, with institutions of higher

learning during the 70's and the 80's. "Student disaffection with the methods and styles of education will continue until such time as very basic changes are made in the educational system".

Now the report — if you look at it carefully — brings you back then to Page 25 where it refers to the "Young-Old Division" and the response of youth, and it states, "Rather youth will be increasingly discontented with the institutions which it confronts — schools, universities and employing organizations. The inability of such institutions to be responsive to the needs of youth has been demonstrated in the past and there seems to be no reason to think that such institutions will be more effective in their response to youth in the future".

Well, there is one positive approach in my view — certainly the Progressive Conservative approach — and that's not to have campuses of twenty-five thousand; that's not to have a situation where people are involved in very impersonally vast and large educational institutions, such as we have in our technical schools and at the U. of A. But recognizing — as they do in many other jurisdictions and as I have spoken about in this House — that there is a need for smaller, more personal, much more vital, educational institutions spread throughout this province — but particularly smaller ones, and Yes, I've heard the debate Mr. Speaker — I've been involved in it and others have heard it — what about the cost, Mr. Lougheed? Sure, what about the cost? Do some travelling through the United States — look at places like Ames, Iowa or Eugene, Oregon. Look at the universities there, and the size of the community. Look at the relative costs of land in Garneau compared to 'Community X' that's well represented here. Look at the long term economic benefits as well as the desirable educational and social benefits that such smaller colleges and technical schools and universities would involve, and look at the way it's happened in Lethbridge where you have the great community involvement in the University of Lethbridge there, and what it's done and how it could be spread in many other centres of this province. Because Mr. Speaker, this forecast and my concern about this forecast quite clearly to me states, 'let's be doing something different. Let's not be drifting. Let's reassess what we've been doing. Let's learn from the experience in other jurisdictions. And as the very effective report of Higher Education of British Columbia that I've referred to before, by President McDonald of U.B.C. states about the need for decentralization of these educational institutions—that's the message that this document is trying to get across to us. So Mr. Speaker, in the field of education, here's a document that has got to concern every Albertan and every Member. They are very, very strong statements indeed — and we ignore them at our peril.

Now the next area is the field of mental health, and that's referred to Mr. Speaker, at

page 179, and it states a forecast that goes as follows: "The prevalence of depression and the incidence of mental health will likely increase appreciably and steadily during the coming thirty-five years". But you know, if you're going to do something about it, you better make up for your past failures. We've had the Blair Report. I'm a little too shocked by the comments of the Secondor to respond in this issue directly to his remarks, but I am sure that they will get appropriate circulation and response. The Blair Report, on page 39, puts out a case — and you have all been referred to it — you've had it for two years — that the delivery system in this province is seriously deficient on a number of counts; that there are major deficiencies. We've talked about them before, and everybody's aware of them — they're there. That's the past — not the future at all. It's not anticipating the future — it's worrying about overcoming the past defects. Well, we had Dr. Blair in a recent report (I see that he's had enough of being 'unofficial adviser') but he feels that there just hasn't been the progress that there should have been, and certainly as he is quoted in a report in the Calgary Albertan of February 6th of this year — "one negative aspect which merits special attention is the damaging effect of uncertainty engendered by shaking up mental health services". The Honourable Members from Calgary Victoria Park and Calgary Bowness and myself went through the hospital at Ponoka just ten days ago. We certainly were given there an appreciation of the need for strong statements, clear statements now of public policy by government, and they would like to know just where they stand.

Also in the area of mental health we have the report by Mr. Walter Nagle in the Calgary Herald of January 29th of this year, reporting the comments made by Dr. Johnston, the Administrator of the Calgary General Hospital. "Mental patients, some of them severely ill, are overflowing Calgary General Hospital's limited psychiatric bed space. Dr. J. C. Johnston, the Hospital's medical administrator told Trustees Thursday. The situation is potentially dangerous to everyone concerned. A provincially-imposed limit on approved hospital spending prevents the provision of better facilities. Because space suitable for them is not available, mentally ill patients are not receiving the kind of care they require".

Mr. Speaker, I hope the Budget does not reflect the views of the Member from Macleod. I hope Mr. Speaker, the Budget contains a priority commitment in this area. And I hope the Government Leader will speak up on the issue. It's not a sign of weakness, as page 181 has referred to there, 'Society will not look upon a person's desire for psychological counselling or physiotherapy as a sign of weakness or lack of will-power'.

Now there's a reference too in this same area at page 83 that drug use and alcohol-

ism is going to increase sharply and we have had a lot of comment on that. We may have had some progress. I will be interested to hear the reports — but have we had enough? And what government intervention is required?

So when you look at education, and then you look at mental health in terms of forecasts — what's the next one? The Native people of this province — and there are some dandies here. Page 149 has this — "the reserves and the colonies however will likely remain pockets of poverty". Until when? How about the year 2000? That's thirty years from now. Now I could contemplate a report like that Mr. Speaker suggesting the year 1980 because it doesn't happen easily and it's hard work and it's difficult to overcome it — and there has got to be a lot of co-operation and good will. If it said 1980 in that document one might have said, 'hoping' — but the year 2000?

Now the intervention that is required states on page 149 that "a similar slight increase can be observed in the awarding of monetary compensation to the Native people who lose their traditional means of livelihood through ecological disaster and industrial exploitation". Well — what can you say about the buffalo hunt, except that it's bureaucracy at its worst, rules before people, and I hope it won't happen again, and I hope that there will be a change.

On page 151 in this document Mr. Speaker, there is a phrase that I'm sure you dislike as much as I. It talks about the urbanization of the Native people. It says, "The forecast foreshadows a trend towards the development of Native centre urban ghettos which will likely continue to grow to the turn of the century". Now that's a sad phrase — 'the ghettos', but the previous sentence says this, "Free access to urban facilities, housing, schools, hotels, recreational areas, etc. for Native people on an equal basis with urban whites will probably not be achieved much before 1990 at the very earliest". Anybody here complacent about civil rights?

There is a challenge of intervention. There's an assessment of historical trends. On page 155 there's a statement about equality — "Equality before the law for Native people will probably increase, but not until some time after 1980". 'Equality before the law for Native people'. Surely that's something for now. And if it has to happen in any way in terms of the sort of action programs that are required, this is their document and that's their forecast.

On page 23 there is a concluding statement about this area — "Red-White Division. The development of urban ghettos populated by Native peoples, the availability of models of militancy, increased difficulties of meeting even the basic needs in urban environment, and the responsive lag in government action and policy to Native needs will be

conducive to increased tensions and a Red-White confrontation". Now there's the forecast, there's the lag.

Are there still people here saying that everything's great in 'good old Alberta'?

Page 165, there is a reference to law and disorder. It wasn't 'law and order' that caught my eye when I first saw it — but 'law and disorder'. Page 165, and this is the conclusion Mr. Speaker to that section 'law and disorder' — "The need for law and order will increase sharply over the next two decades. However the increase of enforced law will more than likely bring an increase of social disorder, increased crime, including juvenile delinquency and massive social unrest, will develop and grow at least until the 1990's". And here's the really disturbing sentence, "Lack of respect or disrespect for justice will accompany this disorder. As our legal institutions press harder to eliminate the actions of those who stand up against society" — for the Member for Macleod — "they will compound the problems and intensify the conflict". Well Mr. Speaker, as I said in my earlier remarks — if forecasts are assessed and found to describe undesirable states of affairs in the future, there is no necessity that these undesirable conditions should come about. We could choose to intervene.

Now in this area quite obviously we are not talking about just Alberta. Quite clearly in this area it's occurring throughout all of Canada and the world. But, this forecast is for Alberta and the responsibility for administration of justice rests at the provincial level. I think that it's clear that we had better all — on both sides of the House — be scrupulous ourselves about respect for justice. Do everything we can to move the wheels of justice faster. Be careful not to over-react, and to avoid undesirable and very dangerous conflicts between the judiciary and the legislature.

Then you come to page 169 in this document, and on that page this is the opening blockbuster — "The potential for massive social unrest and instability of near revolutionary proportions will increase appreciably and steadily during the next two decades". You know — it can be triggered by things just like the buffalo hunts.

Now government — governments — had better be more responsive and less bureaucratic. Now the Civil Service in this province have been doing a good job — under very difficult conditions. And they're trying, and they deserve credit for it, but what is needed—pretty clearly what is needed Mr. Speaker, are elected policy-making Cabinet Ministers prepared to accept their full responsibilities. To be responsive to people. To not pass them off to boards and let the policy develop from there. And what would a Progressive Conservative government do? A lot in this area. First of all, the M.L.A. would mean a great deal on the government side. And in addition to that, the M.L.A. would

be represented on the key legislative commissions appointed — something like the Worth Commission. Not always the experts — but let's have some elected legislators involved. Wherever possible when views are expressed on the other side of the House and bills are introduced they would be looked at, considered, and weighed — and if they are valid — accepted. I would be delighted to see such a response by the other side of the House in terms of proposals that are presented by way of public bills.

And in addition to that, a Progressive Conservative government — with regard to matters of controversial legislation — would commit itself as a course of conduct to holding public hearings of controversial legislation, to give the people an opportunity to express themselves. And this particularly relates to the Native people, to the educational institution programs — to all of these fields.

Now there has been a great deal of talk here about the problems of crime rates and instability of law. I'm sure the Honourable Member from Calgary Glenmore will have a considerable amount to say. But there are statements in this document as to the inability of law enforcement agencies today — and growing — to meet their responsibility — and that's on page 171. Quite obviously the fiscal resources of provincial governments are going to have to be made available to municipal governments so they can meet this. But the real disturbing aspect probably of all in the area of law and disorder is noted at page 173. "Respect for justice through the law will decline or diminish considerably in the years ahead". Now that's got to be Mr. Speaker, one of the most disturbing forecasts within this document — because without justice we have nothing. Nothing in our society. Anarchy. Certainly not this House even, Mr. Speaker. Justice is the foundation of our society. This is based — this is a forecast based on current trends. Certainly it's not a bright future for Alberta.

As far as a Progressive Conservative government is concerned, civil legal aid would have our full commitment. I noticed a recent press report which I hope was in error. There was a reported cutting back in civil legal aid as we approach the fiscal year end. I anticipate, and others anticipate that there already are strains upon our judicial system. We have heard comments from the Chief Justice with regard to this matter. They should be acted upon — and the provincial government — when it's a federal matter — should endorse and support such action. Because if we don't have respect for justice, as forecast in this document commissioned and presumably paid for by Social Credit — then we have nothing.

Now there's another area — recreation and leisure. At page 109 of that document there is a statement that, "there will be a sharp increase in demand for recreational facilities",

and there is an alternate opinion that, "extremely high demand for recreational facilities will coincide with the increase in lag between facility supply and demand". Now a Progressive Conservative government would assess that lag, determine where it is geographically and its nature. We would establish a program of acceleration to meet that lag. And I'll deal later with the desirable economic aspects of that. I think quite clearly there is a need — and certainly a Progressive Conservative government would respond — as is referred to on page 111 — that "effective legislation to protect recreational land will probably be initiated by the year 1975, and most certainly before the mid-1980's". It should be done this year! My colleague from Banff Cochrane and myself went through the Kananaskis Lake area — in late August. We saw that area. Now there may be other areas. I'm sure the Member from Jasper Edson will have some views about this too — but certainly that is one of the most desirable areas for recreational facilities in this province — the whole Kananaskis Lake area. And what did we see? The sort of scars of the environment about which we will hope we will have explanations — such as the Alberta Gypsum Development. Power lines stretched all over the place. And then you go to the provincial park nearby — and that's a 'sweetheart'. A little tiny provincial park and it's white — you know — it's white Mr. Speaker, twelve months of the year. Have you been there? I'm sure you have Mr. Speaker. Twelve months of the year it's white — and everybody in southern Alberta knows where it comes from.

Now there's a project called "Snow Ridge" — it's a good one. Private enterprise — working well and effectively. It could use a little — I'm sorry the Minister of Highways isn't in his place — could use a little effective support. No — I haven't got any money in it — I'll tell you though, it's the sort of private enterprise operation that should have government support and government action — to meet the sort of forecast of the lag that is referred to in this document. But you know Mr. Speaker, what's really important about some of these debates and discussions that we are going to have through this session — jobs we are going to be — hopefully — talking about. Jobs for people. Not just investment in dollars, but jobs. There is just no area in the world today that promises the greatest potential for job creation than in the field of recreation, leisure and tourism. There's where the challenge lies, and that's the sort of a challenge a Progressive Conservative administration would be glad to accept.

Now Mr. Speaker, there's another section in here that deals with the family. Most of this is beyond the realm of us here. We can't be very happy about some of the comments about the permanency of marriage. But there is one area in this section under 'Family' where we can do something. We can do something about it in the same way that the Honourable Member from Calgary Bowness

tried to do in 1968 — the area of child care. Expanded programs for child care in Alberta. We have a report which I was interested in reading — having thought back about the debate we had in 1968 — from the Alberta Guidance Clinic. This report shows very, very effectively that child care centres in this province are very worthwhile for provincial government support — can do a great deal in helping our society. I hope that the Members — particularly some of them that participated in that debate in 1968 — will read that document and perhaps reassess their thinking in terms of some of the feelings they expressed at that time. I believe Albertans whom I have talked to will accept that this is an area of important provincial government activity.

Then we move Mr. Speaker, in this document — the Social Future of Alberta — to page 55 on "Environmental Values", and on that page we have a desirable forecast. That "environmental appreciation will be sharply upgraded during the next three decades". And then it follows with these sentences - the lowering of the quality of the urban environment below accustomed and acceptable standards. The change in environmental values will be in conflict with industrial and commercial values and motives which have historically been accommodated in legislation. Consequently, resistance to the expression of upgrading of environmental values in regulatory and legislative actions will occur. That's an issue — that's a clear issue. The balance that is required between the attraction of industry and the preservation of the environment. The challenge that is placed upon the legislator and upon government to make that effective balance in terms of the wishes of the people of the province. A Progressive Conservative government would reflect its views in accordance with Bill 60 as presented last year by the Honourable Member from Strathcona East. We will have further views to express with regard to that. What's important in this field are standards - fairness - clarity - and consistency of application.

Now on page 45 Mr. Speaker, there is reference to personal liberties. The forecast — "As government responsibility and limitations on individual freedom increase, the resulting bureaucracy and loss of privacy will cause more concern for individual freedom, and an upgrading of the values of personal liberty and freedom". As a Progressive Conservative the concept of individual freedom rates as number one on our list of priorities. It goes on to state in this document that, "At the same time there will be a certain degree of decline" — that's the word, 'decline' — "in individual freedom as a result of the expanding of the public sector, with an accompanying increase in bureaucratization". Now there's a happy forecast! It's a very undesirable forecast. As far as I am concerned a Progressive Conservative government would fight it tooth and nail. I personally find it most repelling.

This section goes on, at page 49, to deal with civil rights and declares that, "the symbolic importance of government concern with 'rights' will have its educative and mobilizing effect". Well, that's of major concern to me Mr. Speaker. I introduced in this House last year Bill 140, an Alberta Bill of Rights. There are many parts of it that I would be happy to debate — many parts of it that, perhaps, could be improved. That's my attitude about legislation — hear views from either side of the House — have expressions of opinion from Members that have had personal experiences. But there's one section in Bill 140 that is fundamental — because what this Bill says is the exact reverse of the existing Alberta Human Rights Act which was presented by the other side of the House. The existing Human Rights Act says this, "The Human Rights Act comes last". It comes last! This Bill of Rights says — it comes first. The same way as Mr. Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights — the Canadian Bill of Rights, comes first. It should be first document of this legislature — in the Revised Statutes it should be Number One.

Now Mr. Speaker, the final section here is the Divisions in Canadian Society — perhaps as important as any other one. (when I say it's the final section, it's the final section that I intend to deal with. I'd be delighted to let others deal with other sections. I look forward with interest to see which sections they choose). Page 21 says that "The proportion of people trapped in poverty will likely increase somewhat during the next three or four decades". Now that's a sad commentary from a document that says that it's a forecast from the historical trends of the past and the current position. And this permeates Mr. Speaker, as I went through the document on two or three occasions — a number of times. Now I hope we will have effective debate when we hear — if we do — what the other side proposes in terms of the present unemployment crisis. But longer term programs are required. This document contains another statement. You know it hits you Mr. Speaker, when you read the comment, 'proportion of people trapped in poverty' — that's in poverty! And then you move on to page 103 where there is the statement, "Increased unemployment is also forecast throughout the study period". In case anybody has forgotten, the study period is 1970 to the year 2005. And then page 25 of this document says — with regard to the young-old division and the so-called generation gap — "Furthermore increased unemployment among the young may contribute to heightened levels of discontent during the next two decades". Well, a Progressive Conservative government would make some very significant and major changes in this area. On page 29 there is a reference to training and retraining. I brought forward a document — hoping for a response, but without any — on two previous occasions — I'll bring it back again — a Base Line Study of Adult Training and Retraining in Alberta, by David Schonfield of the University of Calgary, November, 1969. That document states, "The various tables

lead to the conclusion that the occupation training adult program in Alberta places major emphasis and instruction on academic subjects. A large number of trainees are intelligent people in their late teens and twenties, living in urban areas, often in paid employment. In my opinion there is insufficient concern with skill training, insufficient concern with those over the age of thirty, with the unemployed, with those living in rural areas, and with those of slightly less than average intelligence". This is a critique by their own government agency of adult training and retraining programs in Alberta. We can talk all we like about the matter of jobs and welfare — but let's get at that issue — training and adult training — as referred to on page 29 in this Social Futures document.

Now a Progressive Conservative government in my view, would press for a constitutional change. If not a constitutional change, a change by way of agreement. That is that the nature of employment, the nature of education, the tie of education to adult training and retraining requires that the prime responsibility in this field, in my opinion, should lie at the provincial level, Mr. Speaker. What that report states by Professor Schonfield is that part of the problem is that there is complete — not complete — that's too strong a word — there's confusion and lack of co-ordination between the two levels of government with regard to this area. They are overlapping — they are going in different directions. I have visited the Vocational Training schools in this province, and that's exactly what they tell me. There should be one government having the prime responsibility and the other government supporting it. Now which government? That's open to debate. But in my view it should be at the provincial level because of its need to relate to the educational institutions, and particularly the technical schools, and with our vocational training centres. So a Progressive Conservative government would press for that change.

Now there's a second area where I believe we could do more — a great deal more. That's in the area of the status and the prestige of our technical schools — of SAIT and NAIT — and similarly in the vocational training centres. And I think that what we have got to do, in every way we can — and not just pay lip service to it here and forget it — but upgrade the status — and the prestige if you like — the position and the transferability of these technical schools so that they are the vital and viable forces and have the public support and appreciation that are required. There are a lot of highly talented people working within them. They have had some real difficulties in my opinion about course selection. I talked in 1969 and in 1970 about what this province really needs, and was not contained in the Speech from the Throne. They've got all kinds of studies going, and yet the most fundamental study Mr. Speaker, which this province needs is some assessment of the skills we are go-

ing to require in Alberta in 1980. Nobody knows. Nobody knows. They haven't got the slightest idea. Now in my opinion that is where the studies should start because that's something we need now. We need to tell the people in the technical schools where they should be going in terms of course content. We'll be wrong — we'll make mistakes. But that's what a Progressive Conservative government would do.

Now there's another area, and that's the area of income maintenance programs. This is the field of welfare. And Mr. Speaker, I think we need a radical new approach. The present system in my view is just simply not working. I can't buy the concept — and I think in this case we are probably in agreement on both sides of the House — that the views of people like Pierre Burton who say that the so-called puritan work ethic has gone out the window — I think he is just wrong. The people that I meet in my travels — the Albertans I meet — they want to work. They want to make a positive contribution. They don't want welfare in any shape or form. They want the opportunity to work. So I don't buy the view expressed by Burton and socialists on that score — that the puritan work ethic is not part of our values. I think it is. But I think that a new approach is required.

Now the guaranteed annual income is the approach submitted by our Opposition on the other side. I think it's too expensive. Well, it is too expensive. The federal White Paper deals with it very well, and I think that one ought to look at those figures before one responds too quickly, because I was a little amazed at the extent of the cost. This federal government White Paper on Income Security comments on page 26, "In addition to the questions of administrative feasibility and the impact on work incentives, there is another basic question related to the guaranteed income concept. What would a guaranteed income plan cost?" Well, on page 27, it states that, "The extra cost would come between 2.2 to 2.6 billion a year". Well if that's the sort of expenditure proposed by the Opposition on the other side, go ahead.

An incentives plan is at issue with a guaranteed annual income plan. The observation made in this federal document, at page 25 is this, "The major criticism of the guaranteed income approach concerns its anticipated impact on the incentive to work. If the program is designed to bring people up to some agreed income level, undoubtedly there will be people just above that level who will ask themselves — why work. The impact of a guaranteed income plan on work motivation among people who can work is not at all clear". And yet it has been proposed by the other side — proposed at the Canadian Club in Montreal.

Now Mr. Speaker, our approach would be this — it would be along the lines of the United States Family Assistance Plan. The approach by the Progressive Conservative government is very well expressed by Pre-

sident Nixon. I would like to quote some portions of his remarks when he introduced the Family Assistance Plan. "I propose that we abolish", and I'm quoting, "the present welfare system, and adopt in its place a new Family Assistance system. The new Family Assistance system I propose in its place rests essentially on three principles: equality of treatment, a work requirement, and a work incentive. Its benefits would go to the working poor as well as the non-workers. And outside earnings would be encouraged. Not discouraged. The new worker to keep a certain amount of money. Then after that his benefits would be reduced only on a sliding scale basis". "Thus for the first time", President Nixon states in his document, "the government would recognize that it has no less of an obligation to the working poor than to the non-working poor, and for the first time benefits would be scaled in such a way that it would always pay to work. With such incentives, most recipients who could work would want to work. But what of the others? Those who could work but choose not to? The answer is simple. Under this proposal everyone who accepts benefits must also accept work or training provided suitable jobs are available either locally or at some distance if transportation is provided". And obviously he is excluding the disabled people. "The only exceptions would be those unable to work, and mothers of preschool children". Quoting again, "This national floor under incomes for working or dependent families is not a guaranteed income. Under the guaranteed income proposal everyone would be assured a minimum income regardless of how much he was capable of earning, regardless of what was his need, and regardless of whether or not he was willing to work".

Now Mr. Speaker, I commend to the Members not just the speech — but also the other documents which I have available regarding the actual proposals as they are now before Congress in the United States. I don't think this is an issue that can be ducked because it is tied directly into the question of unemployment which we are talking about today — and also the buffalo hunt.

Yes Mr. Speaker, this would be the philosophy and the approach of the Progressive Conservative Party. The guaranteed income plan as proposed on the other side, in my view, is the closest thing I know to socialism. And basically, in our view, what we need is an emphasis on opportunity, a rural industrialization fund of a minimum of fifty million dollars, which is what they have in other provinces; with these terms of reference — small and medium sized business, Alberta participation, no one forgivable loan in excess of three hundred thousand dollars, incentives for local community involvement, emphasis on the agricultural area, incentives for Albertans to participate, and a full endorsement of the competitive free enterprise system.

The answer Mr. Speaker, isn't taking the pie and dividing it in different ways. It's to develop a bigger pie — and diversify from the oil and gas reliance that we've had since 1947. The social problems that I dealt with in this document, Social Futures — these social problems, multiply with unemployment and with lack of opportunities. The social futures Mr. Speaker, set forth in this document are mostly undesirable. I would like to close by summarizing, and then dealing with proposals by way of alternative action.

This document, Social Futures of Alberta 1970-2000 should in my mind not leave any Member of any political party with any sense of complacency. It shows clearly the need for acting now, and the need to intervene to alter present trends of government policy. The need for new approaches. Just to summarize — at page 89, "Nothing short of a radical approach to overhauling the fundamental structures and processes of the educational system will be necessary in the years ahead". And at page 97, "This student disaffection with the methods and styles of education will continue until such time as very basic changes are made". Page 179 — after we've looked after the past — "mental health — appreciable increase in terms of problems". Page 149 — the Reserves and the colonies of our Native people will contain 'pockets of poverty to the year 2000'. Page 151 — lack of equality for the Native people in the urban centres. Page 155 — it will take ten years for there to be equality before the law for the Native people. Page 165 — a growing disrespect for justice. Perhaps as serious as anything else — at page 169 — the threat of massive social unrest contained in this Social Credit document. At page 45, a decline in individual liberties. Page 21 — people trapped in poverty; and at page 103 — continually increased unemployment. Everything still great in good old Alberta?

The conclusion — as far as we're concerned — Progressive Conservative policies and programs to intervene — to attempt to offset and head off this uncertain future. I'm not pessimistic about this document unless current policies, existing trends and historical influences, continue. Because the talents and resources are here in this province — and we are capable of offsetting the forecasts contained.

In conclusion Mr. Speaker, a Progressive Conservative government would by way of social action programs to offset the Social Futures of Alberta 1970-2005,

1. In the field of education —

(a) upgrade the emphasis on education for creativity, environmental education, education in inter-personal relations, education for sound mental health development, and education for participation in social change programs.

(b) Consider the Worth Commission on Educational Planning as long overdue and hence attempt to implement recommendations in stages with a sense of urgency.

(c) Emphasize smaller, more personal technical schools, colleges and universities to give the student a better education and a greater degree of participation.

(d) Government leaders to continually upgrade the prestige, status and importance of technical schools, and non-academic institutions.

2. In the field of mental health,

(a) make a clear cut policy declaration as to the essential need and objectives of existing mental hospitals and hence improve staff morale and effectiveness.

(b) make a commitment of priority public expenditure to implement the most urgent recommendations of the Blair Report.

(c) To use the office of Leader of Government to create public support and encouragement for mental health reforms.

3. With regard to the Native people,

(a) to provide new opportunities for Native people, not welfare, when they lose their traditional means of livelihood through ecological disaster and industrial exploitation.

(b) to not accept the forecasted delays in creating equality before the law for Native people.

4. In the field of justice and social order

(a) to ensure that the wheels of justice move faster and that people do not suffer through delays. If this involves more judges and more facilities the budget should so provide. Without respect for justice, our foundation collapses.

(b) to attempt to overcome pressures of social unrest by creating a mood of open government with the importance of the M.L.A.'s being upgraded. Public hearings of controversial matters accepted as a matter of course and less emphasis on rules and more on people's problems.

(c) to assure that metropolitan and other municipal governments have the necessary fiscal resources for law enforcement.

(d) to expand civil legal aid so there is not one law for the rich and another law for the poor.

5. In the area of recreation and leisure,

(a) to determine specifically where the lag forecast between demand and supply exists in Alberta, and move to eliminate that lag.

(b) to protect the entire area of the Kanaskis Lakes from environmental damage as a potential centre for recreational development and evaluate similar areas in northern Alberta.

(c) to recognize that the area of recreation and leisure may be the most promising field of employment for younger Albertans.

6. With regard to child care, to follow through on the Progressive Conservative resolution of the 1968 session for an expanded program of day care centres throughout the province.

7. To endorse the anticipated upgrading of environmental values through legislation such as Bill 60 of the 1970 session and other legislation to be presented during the 1971 session.

8. To offset the anticipated growth of bureaucracy by introducing legislative measures to be proposed during this session, and thereafter, so that the ordinary citizen has a fair chance before the boards and the tribunals of this province.

9. To offset the forecasted decline — I can't think of anything perhaps as disturbing — in individual freedom, as forecast — by introduction of an Alberta Bill of Rights that takes precedence over every other Statute.

10. And finally, in the field of poverty and unemployment

(a) to avoid the trap of the guaranteed annual income concept and implement instead a family incentives plan that creates effective incentive to work, and has benefits for the working poor as well as the non-working.

(b) press for a shift in jurisdiction from the federal to the provincial governments so that the Alberta Government has prime responsibility and jurisdiction in the field of adult training and retraining.

(c) to consider it a goal of a free enterprise province and a provincial government to create sufficient opportunities to offset the forecasted continuance of unemployment by means of a substantial industrial development fund, with emphasis on the small and medium sized business; the creation of a small business administration similar to that in effect in the United States; to incentives for those industries that create jobs rather than merely investment; and expanded opportunity for Albertans to participate in Alberta enterprises.

Mr. Speaker, these are proposals which we offer by way of alternatives from the Progressive Conservatives. They arise out of our deep concern for a document which is a forecast of Alberta. They arise out of a statement in the Foreword of that document that these forecasts can be changed if we act now.

They arise out of our confidence that this province has the resources and the talent to do so. I believe with this sort of an alternative program that these undesirable forecasts can be averted — and this province can grow and have the society that we all want.

Thank you.

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